

Working Paper CEsA CSG 173 / 2018

WOMEN IN POLITICS – PORTUGAL AS A CASE STUDY

Maria SOUSA GALITO

Abstract

Democracy is about the power of people and women are majoritarian in society, therefore, they have been claiming for more rights and more representativeness in politics for a long time. After running for office, some have become political representatives only by merit and constant struggle. Others got their chance after the legalization of female quotas and targets. The system has gone a long way since ladies were recognized the right to vote. The evolution of women's empowerment is the focus of this paper that tries to analyze the main characteristics, causes and effects of this process, based on theory and world references or statistics. Portugal was chosen as a case study for not being much researched or not sufficiently so far.

Keywords Women, Politics, Members of Parliament (MP), Ministers, Democracy, Portugal.

Sumário

A democracia dá poder ao povo e as mulheres são maioritárias em sociedade, por isso, há muito reivindicam mais direitos e representatividade na política. Depois de concorrerem a cargos públicos, algumas foram eleitas apenas por mérito e após muito lutarem pelo seu lugar, sem rede de segurança. Outras tiveram sua oportunidade após a legalização de quotas e metas a favor das mulheres. Portanto, o sistema percorreu um longo caminho desde que as mulheres obtiveram o direito de voto. É sobre esta dinâmica de poder a favor das mulheres que recai o artigo, que procura analisar as principais características, causas e efeitos de um processo longo, recorrendo à teoria, a referências mundiais ou estatísticas. Portugal foi escolhido como caso de estudo por não ser muito pesquisado, pelo menos não suficientemente até agora.

Palavras-chave Mulheres, Política, Deputadas, Ministras, Democracia, Portugal.

support

WORKING PAPER

*CESA neither confirms nor informs
any opinions expressed by the authors
in this document.*

CESA is a research Centre that belongs to **CSG/Research in Social Sciences and Management** that is hosted by the Lisbon School of Economics and Management of the University of Lisbon an institution dedicated to teaching and research founded in 1911. In 2015, CSG was object of the international evaluation process of R&D units carried out by the Portuguese national funding agency for science, research and technology (FCT - Foundation for Science and Technology) having been ranked as “Excellent”.

Founded in 1983, it is a private institution without lucrative purposes, whose research team is composed of ISEG faculty, full time research fellows and faculty from other higher education institutions. It is dedicated to the study of economic, social and cultural development in developing countries in Africa, Asia and Latin America, although it places particular emphasis on the study of African Portuguese-speaking countries, China and Pacific Asia, as well as Brazil and other Mercosur countries. Additionally, **CESA** also promotes research on any other theoretical or applied topic in development studies, including globalization and economic integration, in other regions generally or across several regions.

From a methodological point of view, **CESA** has always sought to foster a multidisciplinary approach to the phenomenon of development, and a permanent interconnection between the theoretical and applied aspects of research. Besides, the centre pays particular attention to the organization and expansion of research supporting bibliographic resources, the acquisition of databases and publication exchange with other research centres.

AUTHOR

Maria SOUSA GALITO

Researcher of CESA/CSG/ ISEG, Lisbon School of Economics and Management, Universidade de Lisboa.
PHD in Political Sciences and International Relations at the Institute for Political Studies, Portuguese Catholic University of Lisbon (2008).

CONTENTS

INTRODUCTION	4
I. FRAMEWORK.....	5
1. DEMOCRACY AND THE EVOLUTION OF WOMEN’S RIGHTS	5
2. REPRESENTATION AND MOBILIZATION	10
3. LEADERSHIP	12
4. STANDPOINTS AND OBSTACLES	14
5. WOMEN’S QUOTAS AND WOMEN’S ISSUES	18
6. STATISTICS	20
II. WOMEN IN PORTUGUESE POLITICS	22
1. RIGHT TO VOTE	22
2. FIRST FEMALE MP’S	23
3. AFTER REVOLUTION OF 1974	24
4. GENDER EQUALITY – OBSTACLES AND QUOTAS	26
5. STATISTICS – PORTUGAL	29
CONCLUSION	35
BIBLIOGRAPHY	37
APPENDIX 1	45
Table A1-1: Portuguese Political Parties	45
Table A1-2: Portuguese Legislatures	46
APPENDIX 2	47
APPENDIX 3	48
APPENDIX 4	49
ANNEX 1	52
ANNEX 2	53

INTRODUCTION

«(...) a better democracy is a democracy where women do not only have the right to vote and to elect but to be elected. » (Michelle Bachelet, former President of the Republic of Chile)¹

Democracy is about the *power of the people*. In order to sustain, implies (at least) representativeness of its major groups. When majority rules minorities, lobbies complain when not happy and some of their demands are met; but the system doesn't turn totally in their favor if it goes against the interests of a larger assembly. When minority rules the majority, problems arise (populism against elite, for instance); and sooner or later there's a significant shift in society. Quantity gives power. Numbers do count in Democracy.

Women are the majority of the population. It was not always so, but nowadays it's an unquestionable fact. For cultural, institutional or socioeconomic reasons they were submissive for centuries to a system that did not recognize their public activity. They were not involved in decision making and rebel against that. At first, their demands were not met. But waves are changing. As long as democracy prevails and women's numbers and percentages won't drop, they'll probably continue to raise awareness to their cause, increasing their power and influence in society.

To explain the main reasoning behind these statements, this paper is divided in two parts: the first section has general concepts and world data; the last one is about the Portuguese case study and its statistics.

Part one is framework and theory. The first chapter is about Democracy and the evolution of women's rights. Chapter two is concerned with female's representativeness and political mobilization of women. Chapter three discusses leadership and women's underrepresentation in high political hierarchy. Chapter four deals with women's rights from different standpoints and lists obstacles to women in politics, factors that influence women's access to decision-making, and indicators of success of women's participation in politics.

¹ Torregrosa, 2012.

Chapter five is focused on women's quotas and positive affirmation of women or lobbies that use them as frontlines; and tries to understand if there are *women's issues* or *people's issues*. The answer to this question may be ideological and, if so, must be taken in account, to avoid misunderstandings. Chapter six shows and interprets some statistics that back previous statements.

Second part is focused on Portugal. First chapter talks about the female's right to vote and when it was recognized by the State and in which circumstances. Second chapter is about the first female MP's in the country, its characteristics and names.

Third chapter is about ladies' political rights after the Revolution of April 25th 1974, giving especial notice to their symbolic representation. In other words, some names are given as examples of political struggle and success.

Fourth chapter deals with gender equality, obstacles and female quotas in Portugal, its evolution in a context where they are still controversial. Fifth chapter shows statistics for the country that are considered relevant to the field of analysis.

The main subject is considered informative and useful. The paper tries to be as neutral as possible in the presentation of theory and the interpretation of statistics, giving several alternatives of analysis to raise awareness of people to what's in question and the different approaches that may be followed, for the outcomes of those choices may be different to very different indeed.

At the end, there are appendixes and annexes with further information for further analysis and comparisons.

I. FRAMEWORK

1. DEMOCRACY AND THE EVOLUTION OF WOMEN'S RIGHTS

Democracy means the power of the people since ancient Greece. Originally, though, the concept of Demos, as the "collective capacity to do things in the public realm" (Ober, 2007: 5) excluded women from full citizenship.

For centuries only men had a word about public affairs; at least officially; some ladies had backstage power or influence over the crowds. When the French Revolution fought for liberty, equality and fraternity, but did not share the new found self-determination with the ladies, Olympe de Gournay wrote a Declaration of the Rights of Women and the Female Citizen (1791): «Women, wake up; the tocsin of reason sounds throughout the universe; recognize your rights. The powerful empire of nature is no longer surrounded by prejudice, fanaticism, superstition, and lies (...) Women, when will you cease to be blind? What advantages have you gathered in the Revolution? »

The nineteenth century had activists of the women's rights; like Flora Tristan, author of a book called Workers' Union, about social rights related to the progress of the working class and the emancipation of women. New Zealand was probably the first country to establish universal suffrage and Kate Sheppard lead a movement that granted females the right to vote (1893). In Great Britain, Emmeline Pankhurst was the head of the Suffragette Movement and founder of the Women's Social and Political Union (1903) that pushed for the ladies' right to vote, recognized by the Representation of the People Act (1918).

Portugal had political turmoil in the nineteenth century, three times invaded by France (1807, 1809 e 1810), before losing Brazil and surviving civil war (1832-34). Yet some women stood out, like Queen Mary II in politics, Antónia Ferreira (Ferreirinha) in Business (wine), and Luísa Holstein in philanthropy and the arts.

In the twentieth century, Maria de Lourdes Pintasilgo was the first and so far the only female Prime-Minister of Portugal (1979). Natalia Correia and Sophia de Mello Breyner were both MP's and writers. Ruth Garcês was the first female judge. Florbela Espanca and Helena Vieira da Silva were accomplished in the Arts; and these are only examples.

Also in the twentieth century, some ladies became iconic or controversial references around the world, like Indira Gandhi and Margaret Thatcher in Politics, Marie Curie in Science, Mother Teresa in Religion, Coco Chanel and Estee Lauder in Business, Amelia Earhart in Flying; Agatha Christie or Virginia Woolf in Literature.

What about women's rights and liberty, equality and fraternity in today's world? «Our starting idea is that Democracy is fragile when half of its citizens are excluded. » (Cabrera, Calero and Tejer, 2013: 210) Numbers and percentages depend on country (See Tables 4, 5, 8 and 9) and personal experience.

Rule of law is about accountability and balance in society. Freedom aligned with justice encourages equal rights in more countries, especially in the so called democratic western world, where women have become a major workforce. Leadership in politics is not easy to achieve, but it's possible, especially where there are not impossible obstacles to women's freedom, rights and guarantees.

Liberty as freedom to say and do under the law is an ideal. Many citizens don't have freedom. Others neglect the law part. Civilization requires both justice and security. But many communities are not balanced and female's personal or professional space can be tested while ladies are climbing the ladder of the *cursus honorum*.

Democracy allows more freedom and, with it, comes competitiveness. A politically competitive environment in favor of equal opportunities may favor women's careers. Females with strong leading skills can be elected MP's or appointed CEOs, Directors or Presidents.

It's not an easy road though. Not all ladies benefit from opposition and rivalry, even when merit goes. Because competition can lead to violence (domestic or public). Victims are sometimes cost effective and ladies are often targets, mainly in a hostile political climate where episodes are not reported or easily observable.

In a hostile environment or dealing with power dynamics, collaboration may be an option. That's why women like working with each other or with men. «(...) women can successfully diffuse their priorities throughout the legislative process in one of two ways: through high percentages of women in office or through the presence of a formal women's legislative caucus. These findings suggest that women do indeed make a difference and that their capacity to do so is related to the level of support from colleagues.» (Thomas, 1991: 958).

When fraternity is promoted, it benefits women in a virtuous cycle. It's about teamwork, in politics as well. Ladies especially profit from partnerships, but they face

unwritten limitations to them. Barnes (2017) explains that women obtain power and exert more influence on policy making process when they cooperate within and across party lines. And more so when the electoral institutions allow legislators to act independently of the political party. In fact, women benefit from political networks and these increase with experience and office time.

Women can be free and integrated through collaboration and still have no access to decision-making. But «The exclusion of women from decision-making bodies limits the possibilities for entrenching the principles of democracy in a society, hindering economic development and discouraging the attainment of gender equality. » (Shvedova, 2005: 33).

Equality under the law may also not translate into career equality. According to studies, it's hard for women to combine family stability with political leadership, while family is a source of support for men's careers. Therefore, gender equality policies are needed. They push for the rights of women.

Equality policies rely on the level of substantive representation (more women-friendly), the impact of women's policy agencies, and co-operation between ladies in a policy process (Annesley and Gains, 2013: 127-128).

Table 1: Gender Equality Policies

Equal Opportunities	Affirming Difference	Gender Mainstreaming
Inclusion	Reversal	Displacement
Equality	Difference	Transformation

Source: Verloo and Lombardo, 2007: 23-24

Three approaches to gender equality policies are taken in consideration (see Table 1). First, strategies promoting equal opportunities and inclusion as a standard way of challenging hostile environments. It's about careers of merit and equal payment for women and men in similar situations.

Second, focusing on reversal is about affirming differentiation, like quotas and other types of positive discrimination, that “take gender into account in establishing the criteria for employment, promotions, and participation in decision-making institutions (and favoring, in cases of equal merit, for instance, a woman over a man)” (Verloo and Lombardo, 2007: 23-24).

Third is about incorporating gender into the mainstream, questioning the established categories in gender theory, with emphasis on displacement and social diversity, aiming transformation.

Women invest on gender-status (women’s prestige) or class-based gender equality (class inequalities) policies? It depends on who decides, the type of influence of its leaders, and contextual factors that facilitate or block change; but also by State capacity, institutional legacies, vulnerability to international pressure and degree of democracy (Annesley and Gains, 2013: 128).

In Western Europe, there are class and status based gender equality issues. Policies addressing the class of women (economic independence of women and gendered division of paid and unpaid work) have “important financial consequences for the state, the employers and employees” and “their costly character makes them more likely to get political attention when the economy is performing well” (Annesley, Engeli and Gains, 2015: 24).

But numbers matter less than an increasing representation of women in government. “Here, the promotion of status related gender equality issues and overarching blueprint equality seems not to rely on a mass of females MPs but rather on the presence of (a few) women in the concerned ministries empowered to advocate policy reform.” (Annesley, Engeli and Gains, 2015: 24).

Equal rights and female social status are usually in debate. In the Arts and Education the situation is perhaps more balanced. Politics and business are yet dominated or controlled by men, but the paradigm is shifting. Environment is sometimes favorable to women, others hostile, especially in periods of controversial or major civic movements on the streets, raising awareness to specific causes. In spite of difficulties, much has been accomplished, especially more than in previous centuries. Progress is in motion.

2. REPRESENTATION AND MOBILIZATION

Recognition is a goal.² Representation is key. Female representation may be descriptive, substantive or symbolic. The first is about presence, the second about affirmation, and the third about reference.

Descriptive representation means there are ladies in the group. When females are elected to Parliament or become a member of a certain political party, they score. Numbers count as victories.

Descriptive representation implies that disadvantaged groups are defended by members of those groups³. It may encourage other women to become actively involved in politics, to make their party friendlier to them, recruit new ones and serve as role models⁴.

When there are spillovers, women have symbolic representation. It's when ladies become iconic to other women and examples to follow.

But not all women think the same way, or is affiliated in the same political party, or defends the same causes. According to studies, female MPs don't behave necessarily the same way as female leaders. The first tend to shift parties' agendas leftward; the seconds tend not to affect their parties' ideological position (O'Brien, 2017: 58).

Female presence is not a guaranty, but an important step, in favor of women's wellbeing (Lloren, 2015: 145-146) and substantive representation depends on variables

² «Despite efforts over the centuries by prominent women—and men—the recognition and exercise of women's political, economic and social rights is by no means equal between women and men. » (Ballington, 2005: 24)

³ «A body of theoretical literature has developed that explains why historically disadvantaged groups should be represented by members of those groups. Such representatives are commonly referred to as descriptive representatives. This literature has also endorsed various institutional reforms aimed at increasing the number of descriptive representatives, e.g., party list quotas, racial districting, and proportional representations. » (Dovi, 2002: 729)

⁴ « Women's presence as party leaders is expected to bolster women's descriptive representation in legislatures for at least three related reasons. First, female leaders may actively recruit – and encourage the selection of – female candidates. Second, female leaders may make their parties friendlier to female aspirants and candidates. Third, role model effects may encourage female aspirants to run for office in female-led parties. » (O'Brien, 2017: 57)

like gender, party affiliation, district characteristics, development and living standards⁵, seniority and groups (example, women's organizations)⁶.

Substantive representation is about defending women as a group. Or even their collective interests. Those who claim there are *women's issues*, care about the protection of specific themes like abortion, or domestic violence.

Women are perhaps less represented in legislative debates when their political parties have many female members of Parliament⁷. Female representation at the local level is not independent of their national context and depends on party support patterns, the degree of urbanization and contribute to the economy.⁸ The younger female candidates benefit from local politics⁹. So many variables affect a system that begins with mobilization and ends with effectiveness.

Political mobilization of women rest on three things: closeness, discrimination, and collective action¹⁰. It takes place when they feel connected to shared ideas (group consciousness) or fear losing their rights. It's when they believe they can make a difference.

After mobilization, is there a glass ceiling for women in politics? Some authors like Folke and Rickne (2017) claim this is true; including in countries like Sweden, with

⁵ « (...) differences in living standards and development might impact individuals' goals and values, which in turn might influence women's roles in politics and society. » (Sundström and Stockemer, 2015: 15)

⁶ Lloren, 2015: 147.

⁷ Bäck and Debus, 2018: 17.

⁸ «For one, we find that women's representation levels at the local level are not independent of their national context (i.e. if women's representation is high nationally, it also tends to be comparatively high at the local level). However, we also discover that despite this trickle-down effect, there is subnational variation. At least partially, this subnational variation can be explained by variation in levels of urbanization, women's workforce participation, and the dominant political ideology. The second and related contribution is more methodological and pertains to the conceptualization of women's representation. Perhaps we should stop thinking of countries as homogenous entities. Within countries, there are large differences in the degree of urbanization, party support patterns, wealth, and how much women contribute to the economy. These differences are meaningful and explain variation in the percentage of women representatives at the local level. » (Sundström and Stockemer, 2015: 14)

⁹ «Local politics is also the most important entryway into national politics. Over two-thirds of freshmen parliamentarians in Sweden come directly from municipal councils. » (Folke and Rickne, 2017: 21)

¹⁰ «Conceptually, it is widely recognized that group consciousness requires three things: (i) individuals must feel close to their group, (ii) they must believe their group is disadvantaged (or may lose their privileged position), and (iii) they must believe that collective action could improve their group's status (...) The key thing to note here is the explicit recognition in the literature that these three dimensions – closeness, discrimination, collective action – are necessary conditions for group consciousness. » (Crabtree and Dhima, 2017: 15-16)

gender equality policies and a list-based proportional election system, with many women in politics and a developed welfare state. Barriers to female leadership are vertical conditional inequality, bottom-to-top inequality acceleration, career advancement inequality, and diverging career trajectories¹¹.

3. LEADERSHIP

There are more career women and labor market is more willing to accept them. But equal pay is still a dream. Low and middle ranks are available. Top jobs are not easy to get.

When women are underrepresented in higher positions of the political hierarchy, their rights are not being respected, which contrasts with principles of a democratic society. Being discriminated on top, means it's harder to achieve success. But some rise to the occasion.

When women achieve recognition, then prestige comes next. If they become iconic, other ladies with similar ambitions will apply to politics. When more experienced MP's positively impact society, younger candidates will dare to follow their lead.

In politics, prominent women are not always liked or popular. Many are controversial, because party leadership is usually associated to political ideology. Ladies must defend strong beliefs in their speeches and plans, so their statements are nor neutral, or necessarily helpful to all females.

¹¹ «A glass ceiling exists if women are absent from top posts because of discriminatory barriers to their career advancement. According to this definition, the discrimination must also become more severe for recruitment to higher levels. We specify four theoretical criteria. First, the existence of *vertical conditional inequality* means that the smaller proportion of women in higher office must not be fully explained by job-relevant characteristics. Second, the criterion of *bottom-to-top inequality acceleration* requires that the proportion of women must decrease as the hierarchical level of the position increases. The third criterion is *career advancement inequality*, meaning that there is gender inequality in the probability of advancing to a higher level. Finally, the existence of a glass ceiling should entail *diverging career trajectories*, meaning that the discrimination against female candidates must grow over the course of a political career. The longer men and women have spent in the political organization, the greater the career discrepancy. » (Folke and Rickne, 2017: 22)

Left-wing parties seem to be «(...) at the forefront of advancing women's representation in advanced industrialized democracies. Indeed, greens far outpace all other party families on this front, with near parity in the selection of male and female leaders. Beyond green parties, however, the ideological dividing lines become less clear. » (O'Brien, 2017: 55)

There's perhaps more female descriptive representation at the left (more females), less leaders. There's maybe less descriptive representation at the right, more leaders. It depends on countries and regions, really, but «(...) there are examples of women at the helm of center-right, nationalist, agrarian, and special issue parties. In fact, Merkel, May, and Le Pen each lead right parties, while some important left leaning organizations – including the British Labor Party and German Social Democrats – have yet to break with their male-dominated status quo. » (O'Brien, 2017: 55)

But leadership may not be about gender, and mostly about behavior or personality skills; especially if there are no major differences between female and male. Actually, «(...) activists and scholars should be prepared for the possibility that female leaders do not pursue markedly different policies than their male counterparts. Parties are unlikely to select leaders of either sex who would move their position too far from the status quo. And female leaders, because their position in office is more precarious, may be especially unlikely to challenge convention. » (O'Brien, 2017: 58)

Still, strong female leadership is often replaced by male governance. Women with strong social impact, are not frequently replaced by other ladies; not immediately anyway. There's not much diffusion of female leadership.

4. STANDPOINTS AND OBSTACLES

Female leaders stand for what? Themselves? Society? Feminists as a lobby? When women are part of the ruling class or elected members of Parliament, what's their stance? See Table 2.

Table 2: Women's Rights from Different Standpoints

Model 1	Model 2	Model 3
Women are women	Women are citizens	Women are women
Women support (mostly) men's interests	Women look after national interests	Women defend (mostly) women's interests
Negative discrimination (workplace against women)	No discrimination (neutral workplace, the best wins)	Positive discrimination (workplace in favor of women)
Women behind men	Women and men side by side	Gender lobby. Quotas.
Subordination	Integration	Polarization

Source: Author

Table 2 shows three systems, each producing different impact on society. In Model 1, ladies are elected or invited to join in. They are part of the political elite. Women are chosen if they favor a more conservative society, based on traditional family values. If society is hierarchal, it may imply subordination to men.

Campbell, Childs and Lovenduski (2010) claims that traditional gender roles are more contested by women than men; and especially challenged by younger female representatives or voters¹². It may be cultural. Or an ideological issue.

¹² «Attitudes to the descriptive representation of women present more of a puzzle. We may wonder why younger women are more hostile than older women to traditional gender roles but remain less in favor of the descriptive representation of women. There are three possible explanations. First, younger women who are hostile to traditional gender roles may not acknowledge the difficulties women face in political recruitment. Secondly, younger women may (mistakenly) believe that their hostility to traditional gender roles is shared by their male peers. Thirdly, younger women may not appreciate that their hostility to traditional gender roles is not shared, to the same extent, by men at the elite level, the very men who are disproportionately present in British political institutions. » (Campbell, Childs and Lovenduski, 2010: 194)

According to Devlin and Elgie (2008), women's policy style may also be different, more behind the scenes and loyal to the party line than male MPs¹³. Not all women like to lead or be at the spotlight.

In Model 2, women defend the State, the national interest, the wellbeing of all citizens. They push for different subjects and themes, not just abortion and civic rights, but also economy and foreign affairs, for instance. There are no *women's issues*, but *people's issues*. Citizens elect citizens. Gender is not a public statement for political gain. Sexual category is a personal matter. Everybody works in the same direction. Schedules are equal to all. New doors open for both women and men, according to merit and specialized knowledge. It's the rule of the best. System is not ruled by lobbies nor tradition.

Model 3 is about *gender issues*. Sexual categories are differentiated, scrutinized and publically stated for political gain. Several forms of positive discrimination are applied to quickly overcome underrepresentation. Feminists do claim it's about equality (left wing)¹⁴, or equal rights (right wing)¹⁵, but they may go over parity in politics and business; and they won't complain about a 60% (or higher)¹⁶ female representation. See Annex 2, Tables 2-A and 2-B.

¹³ «By contrast, women MPs had little success in changing the 'adversarial' culture of the parliament, or in other areas such as altering work hours or introducing childcare facilities. As regards the policy agenda, it is suggested that women were likely to raise issues of equality, education, women's relatively poor economic position, childcare, violence against women and integration of gender into the issues of employment and pay. However, in terms of policy outcomes, the few initiatives that were considered successes for the women (such as the development of the National Childcare Strategy) were in areas that dovetailed with existing government policy. » (Devlin and Elgie, 2008: 238-239).

¹⁴ « (...) feminisms and left/liberal women's movements situated in the individualist strand focus on the autonomy of individual women and demand equality between men and women. » (Celis, 2008: 8)

¹⁵ « Relational feminism and conservative women's movements, on the contrary, stress the distinctiveness of men and women, complementarities between them, equal worth instead of equality, and partnership between men and women. » (*Id. Ibid.*)

¹⁶ Rwanda case study: « In terms of the policy agenda, gender issues seem to have been established (...) from the beginning of parliamentary politics in Rwanda in 1994. That said, after 2003, (...) gender agenda is now perceived to be 'guaranteed' by the presence of more women. (...) The strong advocacy of 'international feminism' by many of the deputies, their insistence that the Rwandan situation of gender equity should be campaigned for and replicated in other parliaments, seems new. This may be related to the high proportion of women—a plausible explanation would be that since the proportions of women deputies in Rwanda cannot be justified in rising very much higher on the grounds of equal representation, the next step is to look outside the country to increase representation— however, it is not possible to confirm that a near-equal proportion causes a shift to a more global outlook on gender equity in such a simple way. » (Devlin and Elgie, 2008: 251)

In Model 3, female MP's are chosen for being women and are specialized in *women's issues*. Men and women polarize their positions, less concerned with the country and more with specific clusters. Different patterns and schedules may be introduced, like matching the parliamentary calendar to kids' school calendar or debates ending earlier to take care of the family.¹⁷

Underrepresentation comes from less equitable societies caused by economic reasons, like low GDP per capita; or social motives, related to low levels of education or minor presence in the labor market; or cultural standards driven from religion or regional standards¹⁸.

Obstacles to women's progress are contemplated in Table 3. As well as factors influencing females' access to decision-making and some specific indicators that may define ladies' success in politics.

Based on Table 3, obstacles may be poverty; being a single mother or the only family provider; having difficulties balancing work and family obligations; being badly paid or segregated into a lower paid occupation; suffering violence (including domestic); or exclusion from work and its negotiations.

Women have less access to decision-making when there's lack of political party support or media attention; unfair electoral system or institutions with male standards;

¹⁷ Rwanda: «(...) the increased representation of women has had 'a visible impact on the institution of parliament'. For example, women parliamentarians have changed parliamentary hours and calendars, created institutions that drive feminist change, and introduced gender into debates and legislation, among other things. Equally important for the purposes of this article, African women MPs have caused changes in ways that have not been seen in Western contexts. Bauer and Britton claim that African women deputies 'have an agenda that is demonstrably broader than the legislative platforms of their counterparts in the North'. They point out that land rights, poverty alleviation, HIV/AIDS, sexual freedom and violence against women are all issues that are different and generally more pressing for women in Africa than in the West. More specifically, in South Africa, the parliamentary calendar was matched with the school calendar and earlier ending times for debates were introduced. Indeed, the most impressive feminist legislative record is also in South Africa, where significant changes or additions to law in the areas of abortion, employment equality and others have been made. » (Devlin and Elgie, 2008: 238-239).

¹⁸ «Although women constitute just over half the population, there is a significantly smaller percentage of women in national parliaments. This topic has received much attention in the literature, with researchers attempting to explain both the existence of this discrepancy and cross country variation. Past research has prominently focused on the socio-economic and institutional factors that may impact the engagement of women in parliament. However, recent papers have highlighted the importance of cultural factors that act as barriers to female involvement (...)» (Blair, 2012: 58)

not much coordination between women's organizations and other NGO's, or even low self-esteem.

Table 3: Obstacles, Access Factors and Indicators of Success

Discrimination of women	Factors that influence women's access to decision-making	Indicators of success of women's participation in politics
balancing work and family obligations	lack of party support (including financial) to women's campaigns or to boost their political, social and economic credibility	the introduction of political, institutional and financial guarantees promoting women's equal participation in electoral campaigns
segregation into lower-paid jobs	the lack of coordination with (and support from) women's organizations and other NGOs	designing legislative regulations for implementing effective quota mechanisms
Payment inequality between men and women	institutions according to male standards and political attitudes	the creation of educational platforms to prepare women for political careers
exclusion from negotiations or rehabilitation or reconstruction efforts	women's low self-esteem endorsed by cultural patterns that limit women's political careers	support for schools (or centers) for the training of women for participation in electoral campaigns
increases in violence against women	the lack of media attention to women's contributions and potential, which also results in the lack of a constituency for women	
Poverty	the type of electoral system and quota provisions or degree to which they are enforced	

Source: based on Shvedova, 2005: 48-49.

About women's success? Each woman has her own standards. National interest should be a goal in politics. Table 3 includes political, institutional or financial guarantees promoting women's equal participation in electoral campaigns, educational platforms to prepare women for political careers, support for schools (or centers) for the training of women for participation in electoral campaigns, and legislation in favor of women's quotas.

5. WOMEN'S QUOTAS AND WOMEN'S ISSUES

In politics, ladies are many times successful without help. The gap between men and women can also diminish when females lead by example, because younger girls tend to follow the footsteps of older role models¹⁹. Change can happen naturally. But some claim it's not enough. Quotas and *targets*²⁰ are considered instrumental (temporary or permanent) to alter a system that otherwise will take too long to adjust.

Quotas are a form of positive discrimination, empowering groups historically marginalized from decision making. As preferential treatment (given to a minority) may create resentment (of the majority) undermining social inclusion²¹ or quality representativeness, accusing ladies of working less when trying to achieve a goal.²²

Quotas are controversial²³. Not all women agree with them. Piscopo (2017) claims that left-wing parties adopt them for ideological motives, while right-wing apply them for opportunistic reasons²⁴.

¹⁹ «(...) while female MPs stimulate political discussion among all women, regardless of age, it is largely among young women that the presence of female role models helps translate political engagement into a greater propensity for political action » (Wolbrecht and Campbell, 2007: 923)

²⁰ «The 30 per cent target identified in the Beijing Platform for Action inspired campaigns around the world to pursue the adoption of 30 per cent quotas. In the last five years, in multiple regions – Europe, the Americas, Sub-Saharan Africa, and the Arab States – efforts have shifted the target to 50 per cent, referred to as “parity”. This trend began in the early 2000s in such European States as Belgium, France and Portugal. Bolivia, Costa Rica and Ecuador followed in the late 2000s. Although 50-50 campaigns have been active in Africa for at least 10 years, parity became law only recently in Senegal. A party regulation adopted in South Africa reflects the same principle. The first Arab State to adopt a parity law was Tunisia in 2011. » (IPU, 2014: 13)

²¹ «Quota laws may affect the way a citizen feels she is represented by the state in two potentially contradicting ways. On one hand, quotas include historically marginalized groups in state decision making and thus make the legislature more diverse and inclusive by design. On the other hand, this effect may be attenuated when the policy is seen as giving preferential treatment to the minority group at the expense of majority members. Not only does this create the perceptions of exclusionary rather than inclusionary institutions, but it can also create a stigma surrounding the beneficiaries of the affirmative action measures.» (Clayton, 2015: 335)

²² Cf. Bacchi (2006), Franceschet and Piscopo (2008), and Murray (2010).

²³ «Gender quotas are an area of much debate and controversy. Many of their opponents believe that positive discrimination is itself inequitable and may prevent the election of highly qualified candidates, who just happen to be male. Despite this and other criticisms, a number of countries have adopted various forms of gender quota. » (Blair, 2012: 58)

²⁴ « Several variables come together to make these regulatory and judicial processes work. First, not all gender equality policies break along party lines in the same way. Right-wing and left-wing women continue to have profound disagreements about abortion, for instance, but often agree on gender quotas, because affirmative action laws apply to all parties equally – and therefore benefit women irrespective of party ideology. My interviews with female legislators in Argentina and Mexico indicate that conservative women join quota networks later than feminist women, but they become the most ardent quota supporters once they

Quotas in favor of women were first adopted in Argentina²⁵. Many other countries applied the idea that became increasingly popular.²⁶ «A gender quota results in an inflow of women, which undercuts the power of male leaders. For any given increase in inflow, mediocre men are more threatened. » (Folke and Rickne, 2017: 24)

Applying quotas means *gender matters*. The theory behind it is that “female MPs are more likely to defend feminist bills than their male colleagues” (Lloren, 2015: 160) because gender discrimination is a shared social experience that “should render female legislators more attentive to women’s issues” (Lloren, 2015: 146).

Women’s issues are health and education, equal pay or adoption of kids.²⁷ That’s why feminists believe that more women are always preferable to more men, even when men are more qualified for the job. Any women do? Contrarily, some claim that a selection of descriptive representatives is required²⁸.

A system with *female topics* implies “horizontal division of labor between men and women, where female politicians are often seen in posts dealing with policy issues which have been related to women. » (Bäck and Debus, 2018: 4). *Female issues* suggest specialization. This theory infers that women are more likely to represent their own interests in systems where females are highly represented and where gender equality is

do. Right-leaning parties often resist quotas on grounds that affirmative action undercuts merit in candidate selection. The women within these parties stop accepting this argument once they realize that, despite their qualifications and preparedness, they face the same discrimination as their female peers in left-leaning parties. » (Piscopo, 2017: 61)

²⁵ « Gender quotas were first adopted in Argentina at the national level in 1991. The following year, quota adoption began to spread rapidly across the provincial legislatures. » (Barnes, 2017: 6)

²⁶ «To date, 110 countries have adopted some sort of electoral gender quota at the national level—mostly in the last two decades. Currently, more than 70 countries have reformed their constitutions or passed new electoral laws requiring that women comprise certain percentages of electoral candidates or legislative seats. In other instances, political parties voluntarily have adopted quotas on their own. These quotas have emerged in every region of the world, often in surprising places, with transformative results for the number of women in politics. Gender quotas have also expanded rapidly at the subnational level, allowing more women access to local political decision making than ever before. » (Clayton, 2015: 334)

²⁷ « Feminist scholars have debated this extensively (...) a question of women parliamentarians actively concentrating on a set of pre-defined ‘women’s issues’, whether they are deliberately focused on women as a group (e.g. legislation on abortion or equal pay) or are part of some nebulous constellation of ‘soft’ topics such education and health, which women supposedly prioritize.» (Braxill and Beelen, 2016: 415)

²⁸ «(...) some thinker’s claim that such criteria cannot, or at least should not, be articulated. I argue that some descriptive representatives are preferable to others and that criteria for selecting preferable descriptive representatives can, and should, be articulated. Moreover, I recommend one such criterion: Preferable descriptive representatives possess strong mutual relationships with dispossessed subgroups of historically disadvantaged groups. » (Dovi, 2002: 729)

high, which would be in line with our results when differentiating between Nordic and other countries. » (Bäck and Debus, 2018: 18)

Quotas are about group gathering, but not all women want the same things, have equal needs or similar views about society. That's why, according to Lloren (2015) "feminist interests" and "women's preferences" (voting choices)²⁹ may differ. UN spreads "universal rights" and doesn't accept excuses³⁰, even when «The factors that hamper or facilitate women's political participation vary with level of socio-economic development, geography, culture, and the type of political system. Women themselves are not a homogeneous group; there are major differences between them, based on class, race, ethnicity, cultural background and education. » (Shvedova, 2005: 33)

Quotas serve who or what exactly? Boundaries are spurious when feminists apply women or women's representation as wide concepts;³¹ by including too many viewpoints; or using statistics not much explained, reason why interpreting them becomes a challenge. When framework is well explained at least avoids bias or misunderstandings.

6. STATISTICS

There is a world's top 10 for women occupying ministerial positions (See Annex 2, Table 2-A). Some countries go over parity (more than 50% females) like Finland, Norway and Sweden. The ranking was led by Finland in 2008 (57.9%) and 2010 (63.2%). Norway was second in 2008 (55.6%), fourth in 2010 (52.6%), fifth in 2014 (47.1%) and ninth in

²⁹ «One explanation of this finding relates to the importance of interest groups on policymaking. Feminist interests stem from organized pressure groups whereas women's preferences are the spontaneous aggregation of women's voting choices. To be precise, women's organizations have publicly taken a stand on these legislative projects. » (Lloren, 2015: 160).

³⁰ «The Sustainable Development Goals put gender equality at the heart of the international agenda. The realization of women's human rights is a goal in itself; it is also a driver of democracy, sustainable development, poverty eradication, stability and sustainable peace. (...) We cannot allow religion or culture to be used as an excuse for the discrimination of women. The fundamental principle of human rights is that they are universal. » (Brende, 2016: 2)

³¹ «(...) women's representation in its most generic and measurable form stems from the articulation of a female social perspective which is manifested in parliamentary debate through direct references to gender, but also more subtly through the voicing of gendered life experiences and priorities, and the employment of gendered discursive styles. The representation of a female social perspective could thus, in theory, permeate every political question, even those outside commonly demarcated 'women's issues'. The analytical challenge (...) is thus considerable (...)» (Braxill and Beelen, 2016: 415)

2017 (38.9%). Sweden was fourth in 2008 (47.6%), sixth in 2010 (45%); and second in 2012 (52.2%), 2014 (56.5%) and 2017 (52.2%). The northern European countries are still a reference in this field.

Other countries are giving more chances to women lately. The three first positions include states that have more women than men in ministerial positions. Countries that went over parity at some point, were also Nicaragua, France, Bulgaria, Spain, Cape Verde and Canada. Grenada achieved parity in 2008; Iceland in 2012; and Slovenia in 2017.

More recently Nicaragua was first in 2014 (57.1%) and 2017 (52.9%). France was fifth in 2008 (46.7%), fourth in 2014 (48.6%) and first in 2017 (52.9%). Spain was seventh in 2008 (43.8%), third in 2010 (52.9), and tenth in 2017 (38.5%). Argentina doesn't show up in this top 10.

Concerning African countries, Cape Verde was second in 2010 (53.3%), fourth in 2012 (47.1%), and fifth in 2014 (with the same percentage as before). Rwanda was fifth in 2017 (47.4%). South Africa was ninth in 2012 (40%) and seventh in 2017 (41.7%). S. T. Prince was tenth in 2010 (38.5%).

A summary about Female MP's in the world by State can be seen in Annex 2, Table 2-B. The top 10 places Rwanda first in 2008 (48.8% female), 2010 (56.3%), 2012 (56.3%), 2014 (63.8%) and 2017 (61.3%). This country has the highest percentage of women in Parliament, two times over the 60% mark.

Over parity was also attained by Bolivia in 2017 (53.1%). Parity (50%) was achieved by Andorra in both 2012 and 2014. Argentina, the country that first applied quotas in favor of women, was fourth in 2008 (40% female).

African countries, besides Rwanda, with high levels of female MP's were South Africa (44.5% in 2010; 42.3% in 2012; 44.8% in 2014 and 42% in 2017). In 2010, Mozambique had 39.2% female MP's in 2010; and Angola had 38.6%. Senegal had 43.3% in 2014 and 42.7% in 2017.

II. WOMEN IN PORTUGUESE POLITICS

1. RIGHT TO VOTE

Portugal was not a country at the forefront of ladies' rights. The first women to vote was Carolina Beatriz Ângelo only in 1911, four months before her death. She was a medical doctor, which means she had high level of education and financial means of her own. As a widow, she was *head of the family* and law was vague (did not specify gender). She went to court and won her claim. The judge that favored the cause was the father³² of Ana de Castro Osório.

Ana de Castro Osório was a republican journalist that fought for women's rights, wrote a manifest *To Portuguese Women* (1905) and was the founder of the Portuguese Group of Feminist Studies (1917).

Law was changed (not in favor of women) after Carolina voted in the elections for the Constituent Assembly in May 28th (Almeida, 2009: 8).

In 1931, for the first time in Portugal, law explicitly allowed women to vote as long as they were heads of the family³³. The Law N. 2137 of December 26th 1968 was no longer female discriminating, but still required alphabetization. The Law 621-A-74 of May 1974, published soon after the April 25th Revolution, finally established the universal women's right to vote³⁴.

Nowadays, the Portuguese law recognizes full citizenship to women. Ladies are considered full citizens, can vote and apply to public offices.

³² «(...) previous studies indicate that legislators who have daughters rather than sons adopt a more liberal voting behavior (...)» (Lloren, 2015: 146)

³³ O «*Estado Novo*, the authoritarian regime Salazar established in 1933, which lasted until 1974, was the first to allow them to express themselves by vote, but in a very selective mode, for only formally educated women or family heads were allowed to exercise that right. Considering literacy was low, those women were a very diminutive percentage of society. The same criteria applied to elected or politically appointed offices, where Portuguese women's participation was mostly barred. » (Almeida, 2009: 2)

³⁴ «The military coup of 25 April 1974 marked the end of 48 years (1926–1974) of authoritarian rule in Portugal and led to the establishment of a democratic regime. Only after this date did women and men start gaining the same rights under Portuguese law. The principle of equality was guaranteed by the Portuguese Constitution, which became effective on 25 April 1976. » (Baum and Espírito-Santo, 2012: 323)

2. FIRST FEMALE MP'S

Portugal has female MP's since 1935. «The first three deputies, although they were unmarried and conservative, practicing Catholics, did not come from the single party or from the small fascist movements. They certainly did not come from the moderate feminist movement of the liberal Republic. » (Fauré, 2004: 615). See Table 4.

Table 4: First Female Members of the Portuguese Parliament

Deputies' Name	In office
Domitila Hormizinda Miranda de Carvalho	1935/42
Maria Baptista dos Santos Guardiola	1935/53
Maria Cândida de Bragança Parreira	1935/38

Source: Fauré (2004: 615)

Domitila de Carvalho (1871-1966) was the first women to graduate in Portugal, getting three degrees (*Licenciaturas*) at the University of Coimbra: Mathematics (1894), Philosophy (1895) and Medicine (1904). She was a doctor and a teacher. She was also one of the first three female members of the Portuguese Parliament; in her case, elected for the *I Legislatura da Assembleia Nacional* in 1934, in office from 11/01/1935 until 1942. (Parlamento, 2018a)

Maria Parreira (1877-1942) got a law diploma at the University of Lisbon in 1919. She was a lawyer. Also elected as deputy in 1934, stayed in office from 1935 until 1938. (Parlamento, 2018c)

In 03/10/1914, Maria Guardiola (1895-1987) was accepted at the University of Coimbra and had a degree in Mathematics by 1921 (Silva, 286). She was one of the first three female deputies, elected for the *I Legislatura da Assembleia Nacional* in 1934, in office from 11/01/1935 until 1953. (Parlamento, 2018b)

Domitila de Carvalho, Maria Parreira and Maria Guardiola were three teachers. «Their speeches in the National Assembly were mainly about education; in particular,

they proposed the introduction of courses on general hygiene and childcare in secondary schools and the reform of the school system, guided “by the principles of Christian doctrine and morals, traditional to the country”. Guardiola, who had a long career in the service of the New State, defended the introduction of a single history and philosophy text book. Of the three, it was she who had the most political influence. » (Fauré, 2004: 615)

The *Estado Novo* had a total of twenty-two female MP’s from 1935 to 1974. Their names are listed in Appendix 2, Table A2-1. It also includes the legislatures in which they hold office in the II Republic. They cared mostly about education and social policies³⁵.

3. AFTER REVOLUTION OF 1974

Portugal never had a female President of the Republic. So far had one woman Prime-Minister in 1979. Maria de Lourdes Pintasilgo was a chemical engineer who had been a member of the lower chamber of the Portuguese parliament during the *Estado Novo*. She was a Minister of Social Affairs (1974-1975). She was appointed Prime-Minister in the fifth Constitutional Government of the Republic, by President Ramalho Eanes for “her personality, ethics and character”; for being “a women of principles, values, cultured, good academic-scientific formation, with political experience, much practice in international affairs and, besides that, bold, determined and courageous” (Soares, 2015). She hold her office for 125 days until December 2nd.

In her own words, “all politicians are judged by the way they act, not by the convictions they claim to be faithful too.”³⁶ And that’s way she was courageous, for defending her convictions but knowing that rule of law requires accountability.

³⁵ «From 1935 to 1974, there were twenty-two female MP’s in the National Assembly of the Estado Novo, representing no more than 3.3% of the total, which was not very different from other European countries. In socio-professional terms, we find mostly teachers and social workers. Some collaborated with feminine organizations of the regime like the *Mocidade Portuguesa Feminina*, a *Obra das Mães pela Educação Nacional* e o *Movimento Nacional Feminino*. (...) Education and social policies occupied the attentions of the deputies of Estado Novo, although other subjects were not left behind. » (Parlamento, 2016: 1)

³⁶ Lourdes Pintasilgo *apud* Silva, 2016.

After being Prime-Minister, Pintasilgo was appointed UNESCO ambassador. She was an adviser to the President Ramalho Eanes. In 1986 she was elected a European MP (Almeida, 2009: 8).

Evolution was slow since. «After Pintassilgo, only in 1985 did Prime-Minister Cavaco Silva (recently elected President of the Republic) invite a woman to be a minister on his cabinet. Women's participation in Portuguese governments from 1976 to 1995 is limited to six ministers, 33 secretaries of state and four undersecretaries of state. » (Almeida, 2009: 8)

Nationally was dawdling. Locally was faster: «After the first nine women appointed president of the local municipalities' administrative commissions from 1974 to 1976, there were 31 women elected mayor from 1976 to 2005. (...) it was a considerable revolution in local politics, considering that there was not a single female mayor before 1974. » (Almeida, 2009: 7)

In June 3th 1975 the Portuguese Parliament met after the first elections (April 25th) of the Third Republic, one year after the Revolution. Twenty-one women answered that call. Their names are listed in Appendix 3, Table A3-1. Translated into numbers, 90.9% were men MP's and 9.1% female MP's. Meanwhile, with substitutions, women were probably 27 in total: 16 from PS, 5 from PPD, 5 from PCP and 1 from CDS (Soares, 2015).

These first female MP's? after 1974: « (...) were mostly university graduates, but this group was under 60 per cent. Afterwards, more than 80 per cent are graduates and post-graduates. There are considerable differences among parties: for example, in 1975 over 80 per cent of the Communist Party's members of parliament had only high school. And right wing members of parliament were usually higher educated than the ones on the left wing. But nowadays the parties are very similar regarding educational profiles of its elected members. » (Almeida, 2009: 5)

The Revolution of 1974 brought couples to the Portuguese Parliament. At least four female MP's worked together with their husbands. Helena Roseta wife of Pedro Roseta. Amélia de Azevedo and husband Amândio de Azevedo. Sophia de Mello Breyner and husband Francisco Sousa Tavares. Beatriz Brandão, wife of Mário Cal Brandão.

4. GENDER EQUALITY – OBSTACLES AND QUOTAS

In Portugal: «Authors agree that women in politics are under-represented and that difference transformed, for justice and equity reasons, in a powerful argument in favor of gender parity. But the question of quotas is still divisive in society. » (Cabrera, Calero and Tejer, 2013: 207)

Quotas, since when? In November 1974 an electoral law introduced “for the first time total gender equality, just as many other laws were issued on that period to pave the way towards political, social and civic rights gender equality. » (Almeida, 2009: 8)

In 1986, European integration implied the adoption of equality directives. «The idea of parity democracy was introduced by the European Parliament considering that democracy implied equality between women and men in political positions. » (Cabrera, Calero and Tejer, 2013: 209). In fact, the European regional block has gender policy at least since December 1978 when launched progressive implementation of the principle of equal treatment for men and women in matters of social security (See Annex 1, Table 1-A): and its state-members have been implementing it nationally.

In 1995, Portugal was once more influenced by external influences: «(...) the issue of political rights of women gained renewed strength at the international level – in 1995, the Beijing Declaration and Platform for Action were adopted – with an influence on national agendas. While it is worth mentioning the progressive nature of the Constitution of 1976, the constitutional revision of 1997 paved the way for the adoption of mechanisms for positive discrimination, as the continuation of a gender gap was acknowledged in the political field two decades after the democratic revolution.» (Cabrera, Martins and Flores, 2011: 77)

Prime-Minister António Guterres adopted a non-sexist language in his political campaign and, after being elected, while holding office. This was before Portugal’s adoption of the Maastricht Treaty’s revision’s guidelines. «This event shows the attention that the new prime-minister tried to give to questions related to gender equality. » (Cabrera, Calero and Tejer, 2013: 210)

In 1998, the PS was perhaps the first political party introducing a gender quota law (VII Legislature, 1995– 1999). A *law proposal* suggesting a minimum 25% gender representation in political lists applying to elections (legislative or European) was voted against by PSD, CDS, PCP and PEV in March 4th 1999 (Viegas, 2016: 16). Other bills³⁷ were discussed in 2000 and 2003 by PS; in 2001 and 2003 by BE. In 2006 there was approved a 33% minimum representation.³⁸ Political parties³⁹ had to stop having lists of candidates with more than two consecutive names of men or women.

Female quotas were approved in a favorable political context. They were accepted (or not much contested) by public opinion⁴⁰. Media and opinion makers discussed the question, while there were mixed situations involving the President of the Republic⁴¹ and political parties.⁴² Externally, European and international organizations, as well as transnational parties, encouraged a mentality shift. See Table 5.

³⁷ «In 2000, PS proposes the extension of the quotas to a third, however, it was rejected again by the other political parties in the Assembly of the Republic. In 2001, the Left Bloc (BE) had a law proposal associated with parity principles, indicating the same minimum proportion for each sex previously proposed by the PS (33%). Once again, the bill did not pass. Only in the 2005 elections, when the PS exceeded the proposed quotas, with 35% female candidates and 29% female elected members, the mandate favorably approved the legislative quota that would guarantee a third of the positions for each sex. In April 2006, at the time of José Sócrates, four bills were approved (one proposal by the PS and three proposals by the BE) for no more than two consecutive candidates of the same sex, so that the third may have the opposite sex. » (Viegas, 2016: 16)

³⁸ «In April 2006, however, the PS now enjoyed a majority in the Parliament and its bill, along with three bills from the BE, passed on their general principles in the Assembly of the Republic with the support of all PS and BE MPs. These four bills were very similar. Both proposed the adoption of 33 per cent minimum representation of each gender at all three levels (local, legislative, and European), and both used the word ‘parity’ in the title as well as in their content. » (Baum and Espírito-Santo, 2012: 323)

³⁹ List of Portuguese political parties. See Appendix 1, Table A.

⁴⁰ «As regards the two key moments of public discourse on the matter of gender quotas in Portugal, in 1999 15 texts expressed a position against the quotas law, eight in favor, and seven were broader analyses without a clear position. In 2006 there was more balance in argued positions: 15 texts were pro-quotas, 12 opposed them (...). So clearly opinion makers and print media editors provided a more receptive environment for gender quotas in 2006 than the first time this issue entered into Portuguese public discourse. » (Baum and Espírito-Santo, 2012: 325)

⁴¹ «The President of the Republic (Aníbal Cavaco Silva) played a key role in the adoption of the parity law since his veto of the first version of the decree led to a new version with softer sanctions on parties in non-compliance. In other words, without his intervention the law would be a stronger one. It would not include the revision of the law in five years and, instead of fines, it would provide for the outright rejection of non-compliant party lists. The President considered the latter measure excessive, disproportionate and therefore inadequate to fulfil the objective of the law. » (*Id. Ibid.*: 329)

⁴² «Despite this, the official PSD position was (and still is) completely opposed to quotas. In fact, the PSD voted against all bills related to quota system implementation on a national level. The same applies to the more homogeneous CDS-PP, whose official stance against quotas (...)» (*Id. Ibid.*: 328)

Table 5: Portugal: Actors/ Factors Involved in Quota Adoption

State Actors	International and Transnational Actors	Political Context	Civil Society Actors
Political Parties Women's organizations (within parties) President of the Republic	Transnational parties European and International Organizations	Public opinion Electoral System	Mass Media Opinion Makers

Source: Baum and Espírito-Santo (2012: 322)

In 2017 it was approved a minimum 33% female quota in management of public companies (2018 onwards) and at least 20% in firms listed in the stock market (33% after 2020). PS, PAN, PEV and BE voted in favor of this bill. PSD abstained. PCP voted against. CDS leader voted in favor, the rest voted against or abstained (Santos, 2017).

In 2018, parity law was discussed again in Portugal. Mostly left-wing forces wanted to raise female quotas to 40%. PSD raised questions about certain dispositions: « We have eliminated the direct replacement of a person elected by someone of the same gender, a woman for a woman and a man for a man (...) it challenges the convertibility of votes in terms of mandates according to the form in which it is constitutionally envisaged. » (Sandra Pereira, PSD MP *apud* Almeida 2018).

The main idea is to raise descriptive representation to overcome obstacles to women in politics, related to *soft* resistance. Women now have a place, a job or a public office, but not necessarily “power” or “influence”. Lobbies seem to continue mainly male and with difficult access to women. There’s not always support from men, but ladies also have “rivalry” problems, especially when they limit the progress of other female representatives. Some women consider political life or public exposition “limiting” or “incompatible” with their personal sphere. There may also exist “constant devaluation of issues of gender equality and existing internal party pressure structures” (Viegas, 2016: 35-36).

5. STATISTICS – PORTUGAL

In terms of women in ministerial positions, Portugal in 2017 had a share of 22.2% of women's descriptive representation (it was 12.5% back in 2008). It's lower than France (52.9%), Spain (38.5%), Germany (33.3%), UK (30.8%), and Italy (27.8%). Among the Lusophone countries, Cape Verde is the only one with higher female descriptive representation (25%) than Portugal. See Annex 2, Table 2-C.

According to IPU (2008, 2010, 2012, 2014, 2017), the percentage of women in the Portuguese Parliament has been increasing since 2008. They were 28.3% in 2008, 27.4% in 2010, 28.7% in 2012, 31.3% in 2014, and 34.8% in 2017. These proportions are lower than the ones of Spain (respectively, 36.6% in both 2008 and 2010, 36% in 2012, 39.7% in 2014 and 39.1% in 2017). But it's higher than France, Greece and Italy. In the Lusophone world, Mozambique and East Timor had significantly important scores in favor of women. See Annex 2, Table 2-D.

Statistics prove that women's descriptive representation is raising in Portugal. But numbers are increasing in other countries that are similar or culturally related. There's a shift in the political real in ladies' favor nowadays, perhaps because these countries are democracies and ladies are not a minority in population. See Table 6.

Numbers and proportions give power to people who join and fight for their rights, as seen before. When ladies demand more influence in society, since they're majoritarian, after a while, sooner or later, they become more involved in politics. Trends are not different in Parliament.

Table 6 shows numbers and percentage for total population, for men and women. One year after the beginning of the III Republic, the Portuguese were 9093.5 million, 52.55% women. Ten years later, of the 10023.6 million, 51.77% were females – and, therefore, more people, less women. The situation had not much changed in 1995 (10026.2 million people, 51.82% women). In 2005, the Portuguese were 10503.3 million, with 51.86% ladies. More recently, in 2015, women were 52.57% of a total of 10358.1 million people. Which basically means less population, more women.

Table 6: Population

Years	Gender				
	Total	Male		Female	
		Number	%	Number	%
1975	9093.5	4314.8	47.45	4778.6	52.55
1976	9355.8	4459.6	47.67	4896.3	52.33
1980	9766.3	4700.7	48.13	5065.6	51.87
1983	9957.9	4800.6	48.21	5157.3	51.79
1985	10023.6	4834.0	48.23	5189.7	51.77
1987	10030.0	4837.1	48.23	5192.9	51.77
1991	9960.2	4800.9	48.20	5159.4	51.80
1995	10026.2	4830.9	48.18	5195.2	51.82
1999	10217.8	4928.2	48.23	5289.7	51.77
2002	10419.6	5028.4	48.26	5391.3	51.74
2005	10503.3	5056.3	48.14	5447.1	51.86
2009	10568.2	5065.0	47.93	5503.3	52.07
2011	10557.6	5042.0	47.76	5515.6	52.24
2015	10358.1	4912.6	47.43	5445.5	52.57

Source: based on PORDATA (2018)

millions and %

In summary, in the last forty years, women were always majoritarian in society. Their number apparently is growing and, at the present time, they represent almost 53% of the Portuguese population, which is significant.

Now let's compare the numbers and percentages of Table 6 (Population) with data of Table 7 (members of Parliament in different legislatures). Also See Appendix 1, Table A1-1 (Portuguese Political Parties) and A1-2 (Portuguese Legislatures).

Table 7: Members of Parliament

Years	Gender				
	Total	Male		Female	
		Number	%	Number	%
1975	250	231	92.4	19	7.6
1976	263	248	94.3	15	5.7
1980	250	233	93.2	17	6.8
1983	250	232	92.8	18	7.2
1985	250	234	93.6	16	6.4
1987	250	231	92.4	19	7.6
1991	230	210	91.3	20	8.7
1995	230	202	87.8	28	12.2
1999	230	190	82.6	40	17.4
2002	230	185	80.4	45	19.6
2005	230	181	78.7	49	21.3
2009	230	167	72.6	63	27.4
2011	230	169	73.5	61	26.5
2015	230	154	67.0	76	33.0

Source: PORDATA (2015a)

In 1975, women were 52.55% of the Portuguese population and there were 7.6% female MP's (19 ladies in a total of 250 deputies). Forty years later, in 2015, female MP's were 33% (76 ladies in a universe of 230) in a country with 52.57% of Portuguese women.

This is a significant change, partially explained by female quotas. Not only, because evolution was smooth. There wasn't a major shift from 2006 onward. The percentage of female MP's was already increasing, in a consistent way, since 1987.

Table 8 is about the number of female MP's by political party. Table 9 has the equivalent percentages. The Socialist Party (PS) is known for introducing female quotas in Portugal. But lately other parties have better scores.

Table 8: Number of Female Deputies by Political Party

Years	Political Party														
	Total	ASDI	BE	CDS-PP	MDP/CDE	PAN	PCP	PEV	PPD/PSD	PPM	PRD	PS	PSN	UDP	UEDS
1976	15	//	//	1	//	//	6	//	2	//	//	6	//	0	//
1980	17	0	//	1	0	//	5	//	9	0	//	1	//	0	1
1983	18	//	//	0	0	//	6	//	7	//	//	5	//	//	//
1985	16	//	//	0	0	//	7	//	5	//	3	1	//	//	//
1987	19	//	//	0	//	//	3	1	10	//	1	4	//	//	//
1991	20	//	//	0	//	//	2	1	10	//	//	7	0	//	//
1995	28	//	//	3	//	//	2	2	7	//	//	14	//	//	//
1999	40	//	0	1	//	//	3	2	11	//	//	23	//	//	//
2002	45	//	0	1	//	//	2	2	18	//	//	22	//	//	//
2005	49	//	4	1	//	//	2	1	6	//	//	35	//	//	//
2009	63	//	6	4	//	//	2	1	22	//	//	28	//	//	//
2011	61	//	4	5	//	//	2	1	31	//	//	18	//	//	//
2015	76	//	6	7	//	0	6	1	29	//	//	27	//	//	//

Source: PORDATA (2015b)

Names of the political parties (See Appendix 1, Table A1-1)

PS begun with a 5.6% female representation in 1976, a percentage that dropped significantly until it started to raise again after 1987. In 1999 women MP's were 20% of elected socialists. Between 2005 and 2009 they were 28.9%. In 2015 the percentage increased to 31.4%.

PPD-PSD started with a 2.7% female representation in 1976. In 1980 it had elected 11% women to Parliament. Ladies were 13.6% in 1999 and 17.1% in 2002. This percentage dropped in 2009 and 2011, but was raised to 40% in 2015 (which is higher than PS).

The Greens (PEV) have a female veteran that is very much active in Parliament, one of the most productive in Parliament. At the same time, the political party has the best scores for women: parity (50%) in 1987, 1991, 2005, 2009, 2011 and 2015; and 100% from 1995 to 2002.

Table 9: Female Deputies by Political Party – Percentage of the Total

Years	Political Party														
	Total	ASDI	BE	CDS-PP	MDP/CDE	PAN	PCP	PEV	PPD/PSD	PPM	PRD	PS	PSN	UDP	UEDS
1976	5.7	//	//	2.4	//	//	15.0	//	2.7	//	//	5.6	//	0.0	//
1980	6.8	0.0	//	2.2	0.0	//	12.8	//	11.0	0.0	//	1.5	//	0.0	25.0
1983	7.2	//	//	0.0	0.0	//	14.6	//	9.3	//	//	5.0	//	//	//
1985	6.4	//	//	0.0	0.0	//	20.0	//	5.7	//	6.7	1.8	//	//	//
1987	7.6	//	//	0.0	//	//	10.3	50.0	6.8	//	14.3	6.7	//	//	//
1991	8.7	//	//	0.0	//	//	13.3	50.0	7.4	//	//	9.7	0.0	//	//
1995	12.2	//	//	20.0	//	//	15.4	100.0	8.0	//	//	12.5	//	//	//
1999	17.4	//	0,0	6.7	//	//	20.0	100.0	13.6	//	//	20.0	//	//	//
2002	19.6	//	0,0	7.1	//	//	20.0	100.0	17.1	//	//	22.9	//	//	//
2005	21.3	//	50,0	8.3	//	//	16.7	50.0	8.0	//	//	28.9	//	//	//
2009	27.4	//	37,5	19.0	//	//	15.4	50.0	27.2	//	//	28.9	//	//	//
2011	26.5	//	50,0	20.8	//	//	14.3	50.0	28.7	//	//	24.3	//	//	//
2015	33.0	//	31,6	38.9	//	0.0	40.0	50.0	32.6	//	//	31.4	//	//	//

Source: PORDATA (2015c)

Names of the political parties (See Appendix 1, Table A1-1)

The old ASDI, MDP-CDE, PPM, UDP and, more recently, PAN never elected female MP's.

CDS-PP had one female MP in 1976, three in 1995, four in 2005, six in 2009 and 2015. Raised its mark from 2.4% in 1976 to 38.9% in 2015.

The Left Bloc (BE) entered in Parliament in 1999 with no ladies on their team. In 2005 and 2011, female MP's were six each time, representing 50% of the group.

The PCP, at the very most, elected seven female MP's in 1985. Nowadays they have six elected women in their group. The most important is that ladies represented 20% of communists in 1985. In 2015 they became 40%, double the score.

Finally, Table 10 has the most recent numbers and percentages of members of Parliament, because sometimes deputies are substituted.

Table 10: III Portuguese Republic – XIII Legislature (2018)

Political Party	Members of the Portuguese Parliament		
	Total	Men	Women
BE	19	13	6
CDS-PP	18	10	8
PAN	1	1	0
PCP	15	9	6
PEV	2	1	1
PS	86	55	31
PSD	89	59	30
Total	230	148	82

Source: Author (based on Parlamento, 2018e) XIII Legislature (since 23 October 2015).

In 2018, in a universe of 230 deputies, 87 were women and 143 were men. PS had more female MP's (31), closely followed by PSD (30). CDS-PP was next in line (8). BE and PCP had 6 each. PEV had 1 lady. PAN had none.

Also see Appendix 4, Tables A4-1, A4-2 and A4-3 and Table E2 for further information. These tables have the most recent list of female MP's. It's considered important for a glimpse about who the women are, their names and how many times they have been elected to Parliament (there's reference to when they hold office, in which legislatures).

The veterans are mostly left-wing women and some of their names stand out, like Rosa Albernaz (in II, III, V, VI, VII, VIII, IX, X, XI, XII, XIII legislatures), Heloísa Apolónia (in VI, VII, VIII, IX, X, XI, XII, XIII legislatures), Helena Roseta (in I (C, R), II, V, VII, VIII, IX, XIII legislatures), Ana Mendes (in VII, VIII, IX, X, XI, XII, XIII legislatures), and Sónia Fertuzinhos (in VII, VIII, IX, X, XI, XII, XIII legislatures).

Based on statistics, most of Portuguese female MP's of the Third Republic came from left-wing or center-left political parties. In 2018 the majority of female MP's were still left-wing or center-left (PS-BE+PCP+PEV=44) rather than right-wing or center-left (PSD+CDS-PP=38). They support their convictions or follow their parties' demands, changing society accordingly.

Some Portuguese female MP's are supporters of female quotas or *women's issues*, it depends on their political ideology. There's diversity of opinions in the Portuguese Parliament, as much as in society.

CONCLUSION

Women in politics are being increasingly studied around the world, more than ever before. It's a popular subject nowadays.

Democracy implies representativeness. Since ladies are majoritarian in terms of population, they are fighting against the idea of being a minority in Parliament. More women are applying to elections. It's not easy to be chosen in a highly competitive political environment. In the other hand, if they are elected (descriptive representation), they may not have sufficient power or influence to accomplish their agenda (substantive representation), or to become a role model (symbolic representation).

What agenda? Politicians need to be accountable in a rule of law. Female representatives as well. That's easier when they are transparent in their convictions and demands.

Parliament could be an "assembly of one nation, with one interest, that of the whole"⁴³, especially in a country like Portugal (if considered *one State, one Nation, one Language*). But not all ladies agree with this statement. Not all women are equal, or want

⁴³ Edmund Burke (1774): «Parliament is not a congress of ambassadors from different and hostile interests; which interests each must maintain, as an agent and advocate, against other agents and advocates; but parliament is a deliberative assembly of one nation, with one interest, that of the whole; where, not local purposes, not local prejudices, ought to guide, but the general good, resulting from the general reason of the whole. » (Burke, 1854-56: 448)

the same things in life, or defend the same type of society. Curiously enough, some papers consider they do, or develop their theory as if that was a given. Others defend the idea of a female lobby. Some are ideological, left-wing or right-wing. In order to be considered scientific, papers should be as neutral as possible (considering authors as humans) and explain the different theories and orientations.

Empirical articles many times show results from models that manipulate data or use information aggregated according to a certain disposition that may not be unbiased. Therefore, interpreting them is more difficult than it seems at first and conclusions require some caution.

Theory and practice are two different things. Not all women like to be chosen over men or for gender reasons, but rather for being the best person for the job. Others believe quotas and targets are necessary to overcome a situation that, otherwise, will never change in their favor.

Differences of opinion create not one but many gender equality policies that envision equality or difference or transformation. Models have diverse standpoints and, therefore, may lead to subordination, integration or polarization. If recognition is a goal, representation is key. And even if there are many obstacles that women must overcome to get what they want, many factors that influence women's access to decision-making and indicators of success of their participation in politics, leadership is not easy to achieve, yet is possible. Statistics prove it, around the world and in Portugal.

In Portugal, the system has changed with time, from one political regime to another. There were always active women in society, struggling for the rights of the ladies, but nowadays institutions allow them to open more doors, also in Parliament. The right to vote was first achieved by a Portuguese widow (head of the family) in 1911. In 1931 it became accessible to some ladies. As a universal right of all women only after the Revolution of April 25th 1974.

Portugal had a prime-minister for a few months in 1979. There are female MP's since 1935. There are female quotas in political lists since 2006 that guarantee a 33% of candidates. More recently, there are negotiations that may raise that percentage to 40%.

In the *Estado Novo*, most of the Portuguese female MP's were conservative (right-wing). The Revolution of 1974 gave power to the progressist agenda and most female MP's, at least in the beginning, came from left-wing or center-left political parties.

In 1975, women were 52.55% of the Portuguese population and there were 7.6% female MP's (19 ladies in a total of 250 deputies). In 2015, female MP's were 33% (76 ladies in a universe of 230) in a country with 52.57% of Portuguese women.

In 2018, in a universe of 230 deputies, 87 were women and 143 were men. PS had more female MP's (31), closely followed by PSD (30). CDS-PP was next in line (8). BE and PCP had 6 each. PEV had 1 lady. PAN had none.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Sources 1

Almeida, Maria A. P. (2009). "Women in Portuguese Politics". *Portuguese Journal of Social Science*, pp. 1-15.

Annesley, Claire and Gains, Francesca (2013). "Investigating the Economic Determinants of the UK Gender Equality Policy Agenda". *British Journal of Politics and International Relations*, Vol. 15, pp. 125-146.

Annesley, Claire, Engeli, Isabelle and Gains, Francesca (2015). "The profile of gender equality issue attention in Western Europe". *European Journal of Political Research*, Vol. 54. N. 3, pp. 525-542.

Bacchi, Carol (2006). "Arguing for and Against Quotas: Theoretical Issues". In Dahlerup, Drude (ed.). *Women, Quotas and Politics*. London: Routledge, pp. 32-52.

Bäck, Hanna and Debus, Marc (2018). "When do Women Speak? A Comparative Analysis of the Role of Gender in Legislative Debates". *Political Studies*, pp. 1-21.

- Ballington, Julie (2005). "Introduction". In Ballington, Julie and Karam, Azza (Eds.). *Women in Parliament: Beyond Numbers*. Stockholm: International Institute for Democracy and Electoral Assistance.
- Barnes, Tiffany (2017). "Gendering Legislative Behavior: Institutional Constraints and Collaboration in Argentina". *Comparative Politics Newsletter – The Organized Section in Comparative Politics of the American Political Science Association*, Vol. 27, Issue 1, Spring, pp. 5-11.
- Baum, Michael and Espírito Santo, Ana (2012). "Portugal's Quota-Parity Law: Na Analysis of its Adoption". *West European Politics*, Vol. 35, N. 2, pp. 319-342
- Bjarnegård, Elin (2017). "Gender and Election Violence: Advancing the Comparative Agenda". *Comparative Politics Newsletter – The Organized Section in Comparative Politics of the American Political Science Association*, Vol. 27, Issue 1, Spring, pp. 11-15.
- Blair, Debbie (2012). "An Investigation into the Proportion of Women in National Parliament in a Cross-Country Sample". *The Student Economic Review*, Vol. XXVI, pp. 57-69.
- Braxill, Luke and Beelen, Kaspar (2016). "A Feminized Language of Democracy? The Representation of Women at Westminster since 1945". *Twentieth Century British History*, Vol. 27, N. 3, pp. 412-449.
- Brende, Borge (2016). "Foreword". In Norwegian Ministry of Foreign Affairs, "Freedom, Empowerment and Opportunities – Action Plan for Women's Rights and Gender Equality in Foreign and Development Policy 2016-2020", Norwegian Government Security and Service Organisation, p. 2.
- Brown, Charles B. (2009). *Ormond; or the Secret Witness: With Related Texts*. Indianapolis: Hackett Publishing Company.
- Burke, Edmund (1854-56). "Speech to the Electors of Bristol (Nov. 3, 1774)". In *The Works of the Right Honorable Edmund Burke*. London: Henry G. Bohn, pp. 446-448.

Cabrera, Ana and Martins, Carla and Flores, Teresa M. (2011). “Media Representations of the Female Members of the Portuguese Parliament: the case of the Parity Parliament”. *SBP – Brazilian Journalism Research*, Vol. 7, N. 11, pp. 76-94.

Cabrera, Ana and Calero, Maria Luisa and Tejer, Maria Lourdes (2013). “De la Representación Residual de las Mujeres en el Parlamento Portugués al Debate Parlamentario de la Ley de Paridad (2001): Representación Mediática de las Diputadas en el Debate Parlamentario.”. *CIC Cuadernos de Información y Comunicación*, Vol. 18, pp. 205-221.

Campbell, Rosie and Childs, Sarah and Lovenduski, Joni (2010). “Do Women Need Women Representatives”. *British Journal of Political Science*, Vol. 40, Issue 01, pp. 171-194.

Celis, Karen (2008). “Substantive Representation of Women (and improving it). What is and should it be About”. *Annual meeting of the American Political Science Association*. Panel 31-18 “The Construction of Gendered Interests”, pp. 1-24

Clayton, Amanda (2015). “Women’s Political Engagement Under Quota-Mandated Female Representation: Evidence from a Randomized Policy Experiment”. *Comparative Political Studies*, Vol. 48, N.º 3, pp. 333-369.

Crabtree, Charles and Dhima, Kostanca (2017). “Testing Theories of Group Consciousness”. *Comparative Politics Newsletter – The Organized Section in Comparative Politics of the American Political Science Association*, Vol. 27, Issue 1, Spring, pp. 15-20.

Devlin, Claire and Elgie, Robert (2008). “The Effect of Increased Women’s Representation in Parliament: The Case of Rwanda”. *Parliamentary Affairs*, Vol. 61 N. 2, pp. 237–254.

Dovi, Suzanne (2002). “Preferable Descriptive Representatives: Will Just Any Woman, Black, or Latino Do?”. *American Political Science Review*, Vol. 96, N. 4, December, pp. 729-743.

Fauré, Christine (2004). *Political and Historical Encyclopedia of Women*. New York: Routledge

Franceschet, Susan and Piscopo, Jennifer M. (2008). “Gender Quotas and Women’s Substantive Representation: Lessons from Argentina”. *Politics and Gender*, 4, pp. 393-425.

Folke, Olle and Rickne, Johanna (2017). “Women in Politics: A Necessary Crisis for the Mediocre Men?” *Comparative Politics Newsletter – The Organized Section in Comparative Politics of the American Political Science Association*, Vol. 27, Issue 1, Spring, pp. 21-25.

Lloren, Anouk (2015). “Women’s Substantive Representation: Defending Feminist Interests or Women’s Electoral Preferences?”. *The Journal of Legislative Studies*, Vol. 21, N. 2, pp. 144-167.

Murray, Rainbow (2010). “Second among Unequals? A Study of Whether France’s “Quota Women” are Up to the Job”. *Politics and Gender*, Vol. 6, N.º 1, pp. 93–118.

O’Brien, Diana (2017). “Gender and Party Leadership: Existing Research and New Directions”. *Comparative Politics Newsletter – The Organized Section in Comparative Politics of the American Political Science Association*, Vol. 27, Issue 1, Spring, pp. 54-59.

Piscopo, Jennifer M. (2017). “The Diffusion of Gender Quotas: Understanding the Causes and Consequences of Women’s Political Inclusion”. *Comparative Politics Newsletter – The Organized Section in Comparative Politics of the American Political Science Association*, Vol. 27, Issue 1, Spring, pp. 59-64.

Shvedova, Nadezhda (2005). “Obstacles to Women’s Participation in Parliament”. In Ballington, Julie and Karam, Azza (Eds). *Women in Parliament: Beyond Numbers*. Stockholm: International Institute for Democracy and Electoral Assistance; pp. 33-50.

Silva, Amaro C. (2011). “Maria Guardiola e a Educação Moral e Religiosa da Mulher no Estado Novo”. In Ferreira, António M. and Almeida, João M. (Coord.). *Religião e Cidadania – Protagonistas, Motivações e Dinâmicas Sociais no Contexto Ibérico*. Lisboa: Centro de Estudos de História Religiosa da Universidade Católica Portuguesa; pp. 283-315.

Stockemer, Daniel (2008). “Why are there Differences in the Political Representation of Women in the 27 Countries of the European Union?”. *Perspectives on European Politics and Society*, Vol. 8, N.º 4, December, pp. 476-493.

Sundström, Aksel and Stockemer, Daniel (2015). “What Determines Women’s Political Representation at the Local Level? A Fine-Grained Analysis of the European Regions”. *International Journal of Comparative Sociology*, pp. 1-21.

Tavares Castilho, J. M. (2009). *Os Deputados da Assembleia Nacional (1935-1974)*. Lisboa: Texto Editores.

Thomas, Sue (1991). “The Impact of women on State Legislative Policies”. *The Journal of Politics*, Vol. 53, N. 4, pp. 958-976.

Verloo, Mieke and Lombardo, Emanuela (2007). “Contested Gender Equality and Policy Variety in Europe – Introducing a Critical Frame Analysis Approach”. In Verloo, Mieke (Eds.). *Multiple Meanings of Gender Equality – A Critical Frame Analysis of Gender Policies in Europe*. Budapest and New York: Central European University Press; pp. 21-49.

Viegas, Beatriz (2016). “Estudo sobre o Processo de Implementação da Lei da Paridade em Portugal”. ISCTE – Instituto Universitário de Lisboa, Dissertação, pp. 1-41.

Wolbrecht, Christina and Campbell, David E. (2007). “Leading by Example: Female Members of Parliament as Political Role Models”. *American Journal of Political Science*, Vol. 51, N. 4, October, pp. 921-939.

Sources 2

Almeida, São José (2018). “PSD Rejeita Substituição dos Eleitos pelo Mesmo Género”. Público, October 12th. URL: <https://www.publico.pt/2018/10/12/politica/noticia/psd-rejeita-que-substituicao-dos-eleitos-pelo-mesmo-genero-1847294>

IPU (2014). “Women in Parliament: 20 Years in Review”. Inter-Parliamentary Union Publications, pp. 1-20. URL: <http://archive.ipu.org/pdf/publications/WIP20Y-en.pdf>

IPU (2008). “Women in Politics – 2008 – Situation on 1 January 2008”. Inter-Parliamentary Union Publications. URL:

<https://www.ipu.org/resources/publications/infographics/2016-07/women-in-politics-2008>

IPU (2010). “Women in Politics – 2010 – Situation on 1 January 2010”. Inter-Parliamentary Union Publications. URL:

<https://www.ipu.org/resources/publications/infographics/2016-07/women-in-politics-2010>

IPU (2012). “Women in Politics – 2012 – Situation on 1 January 2012”. Inter-Parliamentary Union Publications. URL:

<https://www.ipu.org/resources/publications/infographics/2016-07/women-in-politics-2012>

IPU (2014). “Women in Politics – 2014 – Situation on 1 January 2014”. Inter-Parliamentary Union Publications. URL:

<https://www.ipu.org/resources/publications/infographics/2016-07/women-in-politics-2014>

IPU (2017). “Women in Politics – 2017 – Situation on 1 January 2017”. Inter-Parliamentary Union Publications. URL:

<https://www.ipu.org/resources/publications/infographics/2017-03/women-in-politics-2017>

Ober, Josiah (2007). “The Original Meaning of democracy”: Capacity to do things, not majority rule”. *Princeton/ Stanford Working Papers in Classics*, pp. 1-7.

Parlamento (1975). “Sessão Legislativa 01 – 1975-06-03”. *Diário da Assembleia Constituinte*. Secretariado da Assembleia Constituinte, N.º 2, 4 junho. URL:

<http://debates.parlamento.pt/catalogo/r3/dac/01/01/01/002/1975-06-03?sft=true#p5>

Parlamento (2016). “Deputadas da Assembleia Nacional do Estado Novo”. Resumo, Coleção Parlamento, p. 1. URL:

<http://app.parlamento.pt/upload/Comunicar/Anexos/2016/N1/resumo.pdf>

Parlamento (2018a). “Domitila Hormizinda Miranda de Carvalho – Legislaturas: I, II”, pp. 1-2. URL: [http://app.parlamento.pt/PublicacoesOnLine/DeputadosAN_1935-](http://app.parlamento.pt/PublicacoesOnLine/DeputadosAN_1935-1974/html/pdf/c/carvalho_domitila_homizinda_miranda_de.pdf)

[1974/html/pdf/c/carvalho_domitila_homizinda_miranda_de.pdf](http://app.parlamento.pt/PublicacoesOnLine/DeputadosAN_1935-1974/html/pdf/c/carvalho_domitila_homizinda_miranda_de.pdf)

Parlamento (2018b). “Maria Baptista dos Santos Guardiola – Legislaturas: I, II, III, V”, pp. 1-2. URL: http://app.parlamento.pt/PublicacoesOnLine/DeputadosAN_1935-1974/html/pdf/g/guardiola_maria_baptista_dos_santos.pdf

Parlamento (2018c). “Maria Cândida Bragança Parreira – Legislaturas: I”, p. 1. URL: http://app.parlamento.pt/PublicacoesOnLine/DeputadosAN_1935-1974/html/pdf/p/parreira_maria_candida_braganca.pdf

Parlamento (2018d). “Debates Parlamentares”. Assembleia da República, Catálogos Gerais:

- First Republic. URL: <http://debates.parlamento.pt/catalogo/r1>
- Second Republic (New State). URL: <http://debates.parlamento.pt/catalogo/r2>
- Third Republic. URL: <http://debates.parlamento.pt/catalogo/r3>

Parlamento (2018e). “Deputados em Funções – Lista Corrida”. Assembleia da República, Deputados, Deputados em funções (à data de 06-09-2018), 230 registos. URL: <http://www.parlamento.pt/DeputadoGP/Paginas/Deputadoslista.aspx>

PORDATA (2015a). “Mandatos nas Eleições para a Assembleia da República: Total e por Sexo”. URL: www.pordata.pt

PORDATA (2015b). “Mandatos nas Eleições para a Assembleia da República: Deputados do Sexo Feminino por Partido Político”. URL: www.pordata.pt

PORDATA (2015c). “Mandatos nas Eleições para a Assembleia da República: Deputados do Sexo Feminino em % do total, por Partido Político”. URL: www.pordata.pt

PORDATA (2018). “População residente: total e por sexo”. URL: www.pordata.pt

Santos, Nuno F. (2017). “Lei das quotas de Género Aprovada no Parlamento”. *Público*, 23 junho. URL: <https://www.publico.pt/2017/06/23/politica/noticia/lei-das-quotas-de-genero-aprovada-no-parlamento-1776659>

Schonard, Martina (2018). “Equality between Men and Women”. *European Parliament*, Fact Sheets on the European Union. URL:

<http://www.europarl.europa.eu/factsheets/en/sheet/59/equality-between-men-and-women>

Silva, Lúcia R. (2016). “Maria de Lourdes Pintasilgo: Revisitando o Ativismo no Feminino”. Ideias e Opiniões, Política, 22 julho. URL:
<http://www.ideiaseopinioes.com/maria-lourdes-pintasilgo-revisitando-ativismo-no-feminino/>

Soares, Manuela G. (2015). “Ramalho Eanes conta porque nomeou Pintasilgo para primeira-ministra há 36 anos”. Expresso, Política, 12 de agosto. URL:
<https://expresso.sapo.pt/politica/2015-08-12-Ramalho-Eanes-conta-porque-nomeou-Pintasilgo-para-primeira-ministra-ha-36-anos#gs.WI9A5QA>

Torregrosa, Luisita L. (2012). “Evaluating Challenges Women Face”. The New York Times, The Female Factor, March 6. URL:
<https://www.nytimes.com/2012/03/07/us/07iht-letter07.html>

APPENDIX 1

Table A1-1: Portuguese Political Parties

Political Party <i>Abbreviation</i>	Political Party <i>Name</i>	Translation <i>English</i>
ASDI	Ação Social-Democrata Independente	Independent Democratic Social Action
BE	Bloco de Esquerda	Left Bloc
CDS/ PP	Centro Democrático Social Partido Popular	Social Democratic Center People's Party
MDP/ CDE	Movimento Democrático Português Comissão Democrática Eleitoral	Portuguese Democratic Movement Democratic Electoral Commission
PAN	Pessoas-Animais-Natureza	People-Animals-Nature
PCP	Partido Comunista Português	Portuguese Communist Party
PEV	Partido Ecologista <i>Os Verdes</i>	Ecologist Party <i>The Greens</i>
PPD/ PSD	Partido Popular Democrático Partido Social Democrata	Democratic People's Party Social Democratic Party
PPM	Partido Popular Monárquico	People's Monarchist Party
PRD	Partido Renovador Democrático	Democratic Renewal Party
PS	Partido Socialista	Socialist Party
PSN	Partido da Solidariedade Nacional	National Solidarity Party
UDP	União Democrática Popular	People's Democratic Union
UEDS	União da Esquerda para a Democracia Socialista	Left-Wing Union for the Socialist Democracy

Source: Author

Table A1-2: Portuguese Legislatures

Legislature	Portuguese Republic					
	I		II		III	
	<i>Assembleia Nacional Constituinte</i>	<i>Senado da República Congresso da República Câmara dos Deputados</i>	<i>Assembleia Nacional</i>	<i>Câmara Corporativa</i>	<i>Assembleia Constituinte</i>	<i>Assembleia da República</i>
I	1911	1911/1915	1935/1938		1975/1976	1976/1980
II		1915/1917	1938/1942			1980/1983
III		1918	1942/1945			1983/1985
IV		1919/1921	1945/1949			1985/1987
V		1921	1949/1953			1987/1991
VI		1922/1925	1953/1957	1953/1957		1991/1995
VII		1925/1926	1957/1961	1957/1961		1995/1999
VIII			1961/1965	1961/1965		1999/2002
IX			1965/1969	1965/1969		2002/2005
X			1969/1973	1970/1972		2005/2009
XI			1973/1974	1973/1974		2009/2011
XII						2011/2015
XIII						2015/...

Source: Author (based on Parlamento, 2018d)

APPENDIX 2

Table A2-1: Female Members of the Portuguese Parliament (II Republic – Estado Novo)

Number	Name	Legislatures
1	Domitila Miranda de Carvalho	I, II
2	Maria Baptista Guardiola	I, II, III, V
3	Maria Cândida Parreira	I
4	Maria Luísa Van-Zeller	II, III, IV
5	Virgínia Faria Gersão	IV
6	Maria Leonor Botelho	V, VI
7	Maria Margarida dos Reis	VI, VII, VIII
8	Maria Irene da Costa	VII, VIII
9	Custódia Lopes	VIII, IX, X
10	Maria de Lourdes de Albuquerque	IX
11	Maria Ester de Lemos	IX
12	Sinclética Santos Torres	IX, X, XI
13	Luzia Pereira Beija	X
14	Maria Raquel Ribeiro	X
15	Alda de Moura Almeida	XI
16	Josefina Pinto Marvão	XI
17	Lia Pereira Lello	XI
18	Maria Ângela da Gama	XI
19	Maria Clementina de Vasconcelos	XI
20	Maria de Lourdes Oliveira	XI
21	Maria Luísa de Oliveira	XI
22	Maria Teresa Lobo	XI

Source: Author (based on Tavares Castilho, 2009: 315-330)

See Appendix 1, Table B for Legislatures timetable.

APPENDIX 3

Table A3-1: Female MP's (III Republic, June 3rd 1975)

Number	Name
1	Maria José Paulo Sampaio. Silvério Martins da Silva
2	Raquel Júdice de Oliveira Howel Franco
3	Etelvina Lopes de Almeida
4	Maria Helena Carvalho dos Santos Oliveira Lopes
5	Carmelinda Maria dos Santos Pereira
6	Maria Fernanda Salgueiro Seita Paulo
7	Maria Teresa de Matos Madeira Vidigal
8	Rosa Maria Antunes Pereira Rainho
9	Sophia de Mello Breyner Andresen de Sousa Tavares
10	Maria Emília de Melo Moreira da Silva
11	Laura da Conceição Barraché Cardoso
12	Maria da Assunção Viegas Vitorino
13	Maria Élia Mendes Brito Câmara
14	Maria Augusta da Silva Simões
15	Amélia Cavaleiro Monteiro de Andrade de Azevedo
16	Nívea Adelaide Pereira da Cruz
17	Maria Helena da Costa Salema Roseta
18	Fernanda Peleja Patrício
19	Georgette de Oliveira Ferreira
20	Hermenegilda Rosa Pereira
21	Maria Alda Nogueira

Source: Author (based on Parlamento, 1975)

See Appendix 1, Table B for Legislatures timetable.

APPENDIX 4

Table A4-1: Portuguese Female Deputies – III Republic, XIII Legislature

Total N	Party N	Party	Name	Electoral Circle	Legislatures
1	1	BE	Catarina Martins	Porto	XI, XII, XIII
2	2		Isabel Pires	Lisbon	XIII
3	3		Joana Mortágua	Setubal	XIII
4	4		Maria Manuel Rola	Porto	XIII
5	5		Mariana Mortágua	Lisbon	XII, XIII
6	6		Sandra Cunha	Setubal	XIII
7	1	PCP	Ana Mesquita	Lisbon	XIII
8	2		Ângela Moreira	Porto	XIII
9	3		Carla Cruz	Braga	XII, XIII
10	4		Diana Ferreira	Porto	XII, XIII
11	5		Paula Santos	Setubal	XI, XII, XIII
12	6		Rita Rato	Lisbon	XI, XII, XIII
13	1	PEV	Heloísa Apolónia	Setubal	VI, VII, VIII, IX, X, XI, XII, XIII
14	1	CDS-PP	Ana Rita Bessa	Lisbon	XIII
15	2		Assunção Cristas	Leiria	XI, XII, XIII
16	3		Cecília Meireles	Porto	XI, XII, XIII
17	4		Ilda Araújo Novo	Viana do Castelo	XIII
18	5		Isabel Galriça Neto	Lisbon	XI, XII, XIII
19	6		Patrícia Fonseca	Santarem	XIII
20	7		Teresa Caeiro	Faro	IX, X, XI, XII, XIII
21	8		Vânia Dias da Silva	Braga	XIII

Source: Author (based on Parlamento, 2018e)

Table A4-2: Portuguese Female Deputies – III Republic, XIII Legislature

Total N	Party N	Party	Name	Electoral Circle	Legislatures
22	1	PS	Ana Catarina Mendonça Mendes	Setubal	VII, VIII, IX, X, XI, XII, XIII
23	2		Ana Passos	Faro	XIII
24	3		Carla Sousa	Porto	XIII
25	4		Carla Tavares	Aveiro	XIII
26	5		Catarina Marcelino	Setubal	XI, XII, XIII
27	6		Constança Urbano de Sousa	Porto	XIII
28	7		Edite Estrela	Lisbon	V, VI, VIII, IX, XIII
29	8		Elza Pais	Coimbra	XI, XII, XIII
30	9		Eurídice Pereira	Setubal	XI, XII, XIII
31	10		Helena Roseta	Lisbon	I (C, R), II, V, VII, VIII, IX, XIII
32	11		Hortense Martins	Castelo Branco	X, XI, XII, XIII
33	12		Idália Salvador Serrão	Santarem	X, XI, XII, XIII
34	13		Isabel Alves Moreira	Lisbon	XII, XIII
35	14		Isabel Santos	Porto	X, XII, XIII
36	15		Jamila Madeira	Faro	VIII, IX, XI, XIII
37	16		Joana Lima	Porto	X, XIII
38	17		Lara Martinho	Azores	XIII
39	18		Lúcia Araújo Silva	Viseu	XIII
40	19		Margarida Marques	Leiria	III, XIII
41	20		Maria Antónia de Almeida Santos	Guarda	VIII, X, XI, XII, XIII
42	21		Maria Augusta Santos	Braga	XIII
43	22		Maria da Luz Rosinha	Lisbon	VII, XIII
44	23		Marisabel Moutela	Viseu	XIII
45	24		Odete João	Leiria	X, XI, XII, XIII
46	25		Palmira Maciel	Braga	XIII
47	26		Rosa Maria Bastos Albernaz	Aveiro	II, III, V, VI, VII, VIII, IX, X, XI, XII, XIII
48	27		Sandra Pontedeira	Viana do Castelo	XII, XIII
49	28		Sofia Araújo	Setúbal	XIII
50	29		Sónia Fertuzinhos	Braga	VII, VIII, IX, X, XI, XII, XIII
51	30		Susana Amador	Lisbon	X, XIII
52	31		Wanda Guimarães	Lisbon	XIII

Source: Author (based on Parlamento, 2018e)

Table A4-3: Portuguese Female Deputies – III Republic, XIII Legislature

Total N	Party N	Party	Name	Electoral Circle	Legislatures
53	1	PSD	Ana Oliveira	Coimbra	XII, XIII
54	2		Ana Sofia Bettencourt	Lisbon	XII, XIII
55	3		Andreia Neto	Porto	XII, XIII
56	4		Ângela Guerra	Guarda	XII, XIII
57	5		Berta Cabral	Azores	XIII
58	6		Carla Barros	Porto	XI, XIII
59	7		Clara Marques Mendes	Braga	XII, XIII
60	8		Emília Cerqueira	Viana do Castelo	XIII
61	9		Emília Santos	Porto	XII, XIII
62	10		Fátima Ramos	Coimbra	XIII
63	11		Helga Correia	Aveiro	XIII
64	12		Inês Domingos	Viseu	XIII
65	13		Isaura Pedro	Viseu	XIII
66	14		Joana Barata Lopes	Lisbon	XII, XIII
67	15		Laura Monteiro Magalhães	Braga	XIII
68	16		Margarida Balseiro Lopes	Leiria	XIII
69	17		Margarida Mano	Coimbra	XIII
70	18		Maria das Mercês Borges	Setubal	XI, XII, XIII
71	19		Maria Germana Rocha	Porto	XIII
72	20		Maria Luís Albuquerque	Setubal	XII, XIII
73	21		Maria Manuela Tender	Vila Real	XII, XIII
74	22		Nilza de Sena	Beja	XII, XIII
75	23		Paula Teixeira da Cruz	Lisbon	XII, XIII
76	24		Regina Bastos	Aveiro	X, XIII
77	25		Rubina Berardo	Madeira	XIII
78	26		Sandra Pereira	Lisbon	XIII
79	27		Sara Madruga da Costa	Madeira	XIII
80	28		Susana Lamas	Aveiro	XIII
81	29		Teresa Leal Coelho	Santarem	XII, XIII
82	30		Teresa Morais	Leiria	IX, XI, XII, XIII

Source: Author (based on Parlamento, 2018e)

See Appendix 1, Table B for Legislatures timetable.

ANNEX 1

Table 1-A: EU's Equality Policy

Council Directive 79/7/EEC of 19 December 1978 on the progressive implementation of the principle of equal treatment for men and women in matters of social security.
Council Directive 92/85/EEC of 19 October 1992 on the introduction of measures to encourage improvements in the safety and health at work of pregnant workers and workers who have recently given birth or are breastfeeding.
Council Directive 2004/113/EC of 13 December 2004 implementing the principle of equal treatment between men and women in the access to and supply of goods and services.
In 2006, a number of former legislative acts were repealed and replaced by Directive 2006/54/EC of the European Parliament and of the Council of 5 July 2006[1] on the implementation of the principle of equal opportunities and equal treatment of men and women in matters of employment and occupation (recast).
Council Directive 2010/18/EU of 8 March 2010 implementing the revised Framework Agreement on parental leave concluded by BUSINESSEUROPE, UEAPME, CEEP and ETUC and repealing Directive 96/34/EC.
Directive 2010/41/EU of the European Parliament and of the Council of 7 July 2010 on the application of the principle of equal treatment between men and women engaged in an activity in a self-employed capacity and repealing Council Directive 86/613/EEC.
Directive 2011/36/EU of the European Parliament and of the Council of 5 April 2011 on preventing and combating trafficking in human beings and protecting its victims, and replacing Council Framework Decision 2002/629/JHA.
Directive 2011/99/EU of the European Parliament and of the Council of 13 December 2011 establishing the European Protection Order with the aim of protecting a person 'against a criminal act by another person which may endanger his [or her] life, physical or psychological integrity, dignity, personal liberty or sexual integrity' and enabling a competent authority in another Member State to continue the protection of the person in the territory of that other Member State.
Directive 2012/29/EU of the European Parliament and of the Council of 25 October 2012 establishing minimum standards on the rights, support and protection of victims of crime, and replacing Council Framework Decision 2001/220/JHA.

Source: Schonard (2018)

ANNEX 2

Table 2-A: Women in Ministerial Positions – World's Top 10

R	2008		2010		2012		2014		2017*	
	Country	% W	Country	% W	Country	% W	Country	% W	Country	% W
1	Finland	57.9	Finland	63.2	Norway	52.6	Nicaragua	57.1	Bulgaria France Nicaragua	52.9
2	Norway	55.6	Cape Verde	53.3	Sweden	52.2	Sweden	56.5	Sweden	52.2
3	Grenada	50.0	Spain	52.9	Finland Iceland	50.0	Finland	50.0	Canada	51.7
4	Sweden	47.6	Norway	52.6	Cape Verde	47.1	France	48.6	Slovenia	50.0
5	France	46.7	Chile Iceland	45.5	Austria Nicaragua	46.2	Cape Verde Norway	47.1	Rwanda	47.4
6	South Africa	44.8	Sweden	45.0	Bolivia	45.5	Netherlands	46.7	Denmark	42.9
7	Spain	43.8	Switzerland	42.9	Switzerland	42.9	Denmark	45.5	South Africa	41.7
8	Switzerland	42.9	Denmark	42.1	Belgium	41.7	Peru	44.4	Albania Iceland Liechtenstein	40.0
9	Chile	40.9	Liechtenstein	40.0	Ecuador Liechtenstein South Africa	40.0	Switzerland	42.9	Norway	38.9
10	El Salvador	38.9	Austria Nicaragua S. T. Principe	38.5	Denmark	39.1	Belgium	41.7	Finland Spain	38.5

Source: Author (based on IPU, 2008, 2010, 2012, 2014, 2017)

R or (x)= Ranking; W=Women

*Year 2017 uses another ranking.

Table 2-B: Women in the Parliament – World's Top 10

	2008		2010		2012		2014		2017*	
R	Country	% W	Country	% W	Country	% W	Country	% W	Country	% W
1	Rwanda	48.8	Rwanda	56.3	Rwanda	56.3	Rwanda	63.8	Rwanda	61.3
2	Sweden	47.0	Sweden	46.4	Andorra	50.0	Andorra	50.0	Bolivia	53.1
3	Finland	41.5	S. Africa	44.5	Cuba	45.2	Cuba	48.9	Cuba	48.9
4	Argentina	40.0	Cuba	43.2	Sweden	44.7	Sweden	45.0	Iceland	47.6
5	Netherlands	39.3	Iceland	42.9	Seychelles	43.8	South Africa	44.8	Nicaragua	45.7
6	Denmark	38.0	Netherlands	42.0	Finland	42.5	Seychelles	43.8	Sweden	43.6
7	Costa Rica	36.8	Finland	40.0	S. Africa	42.3	Senegal	43.3	Senegal	42.7
8	Spain	36.6	Norway	39.6	Netherlands	40.7	Finland	42.5	Mexico	42.6
9	Norway	36.1	Mozambique	39.2	Nicaragua	40.2	Ecuador	41.6	Finland	42.0
10	Cuba	36.0	Angola	38.6	Iceland	39.7	Belgium	41.3	Ecuador	41.6

Source: IPU (2008, 2010, 2012, 2014, 2017)

R or (x)= Ranking; W=Women

*Year 2017 uses another ranking.

Table 2-C: Women in Ministerial Positions – World Selected Rankings

	2008		2010		2012		2014		2017*	
Country	R	% W	R	% W	R	% W	R	% W	R	% W
Portugal	59	12.5	19	31.3	46	18.2	41	21.4	42	22.2
Spain	7	43.8	3	52.9	18	30.8	26	30.8	10	38.5
France	5	46.7	27	26.3	40	20.8	4	48.6	1	52.9
Italy	30	24.0	36	21.7	49	16.7	27	30.0	25	27.8
Greece	62	11.8	19	31.3	88	5.6	86	5.3	44	21.1
Germany	17	33.3	15	33.3	14	33.3	20	33.3	18	33.3
UK	34	22.7	34	22.6	48	17.2	54	15.6	20	30.8
USA	31	23.8	15	33.3	25	27.3	23	31.8	na	na
Angola	81	6.3	23	27.8	21	29.0	44	19.4	42	22.2
Brazil	64	11.4	77	7.1	26	27.0	33	25.6	89	4.0
Cape Verde	15	35.7	2	53.3	4	47.1	5	47.1	32	25.0
Guinea Bissau	28	25.0	31	23.5	44	18.8	na	na	96	0.0
Mozambique	26	25.9	28	25.9	24	27.6	29	28.6	36	23.8
ST Principe	28	25.0	10	38.5	75	9.1	55	15.4	51	18.2
East Timor	28	25.0	38	21.4	34	23.1	67	11.8	49	18.8

Source: Author (based on IPU, 2008, 2010, 2012, 2014, 2017)

R or (x) = Ranking; W = Women

*Year 2017 uses another ranking. In the original, Portugal is in the 66th place.

Table 2-D: Women in the Parliament – World Selected Rankings

	2008		2010		2012		2014		2017*	
Country	R	% W	R	% W	R	% W	R	% W	R	% W
Portugal	26	28.3	31	27.4	28	28.7	32	31.3	24	34.8
Spain	8	36.6	13	36.6	18	36.0	12	39.7	13	39.1
France	64	18.2	65	18.9	69	18.9	47	26.2	54	25.8
Italy	68	17.3	55	21.3	57	21.6	31	31.4	38	31.0
Greece	80	14.7	73	17.3	71	18.7	70	21.0	88	18.3
Germany	17	31.6	18	32.8	21	32.9	22	36.5	20	37.0
UK	60	19.5	62	19.5	53	22.3	64	22.6	41	30.0
USA	71	16.8	75	16.8	78	16.8	83	18.3	85	19.1
Angola	79	15.0	10	38.6	15	38.2	20	36.8	17	38.2
Brazil	108	9.0	111	8.8	116	8.6	124	8.6	119	10.7
Cape Verde	65	18.1	68	18.1	61	20.8	71	20.8	63	23.6
Guinea Bissau	84	14.0	103	10.0	111	10.0	112	11.0	104	13.7
Mozambique	12	34.8	9	39.2	12	39.2	14	39.2	12	39.6
ST Principe	131	1.8	121	7.3	73	18.2	84	18.2	89	18.2
East Timor	21	29.2	26	29.2	22	32.3	18	38.5	16	38.5

Source: Author (based on IPU, 2008, 2010, 2012, 2014, 2017)

R or (x) = Ranking; W = Women

*Year 2017 uses another ranking. In the original, Portugal is in the 28th place.